

ANIZING... FOR A BETTER AMERICA

BY JOHN W. LIVINGSTON
AFL-CIO DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

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FEDERATIONIST

APRIL 1952
TWENTY CENTS



BUILDING TRADES HOLD A VERY SUCCESSFUL NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

**Progress
Through Partnership**

by William F. Schnitzler

**Voter Registration
Moves to the Front**

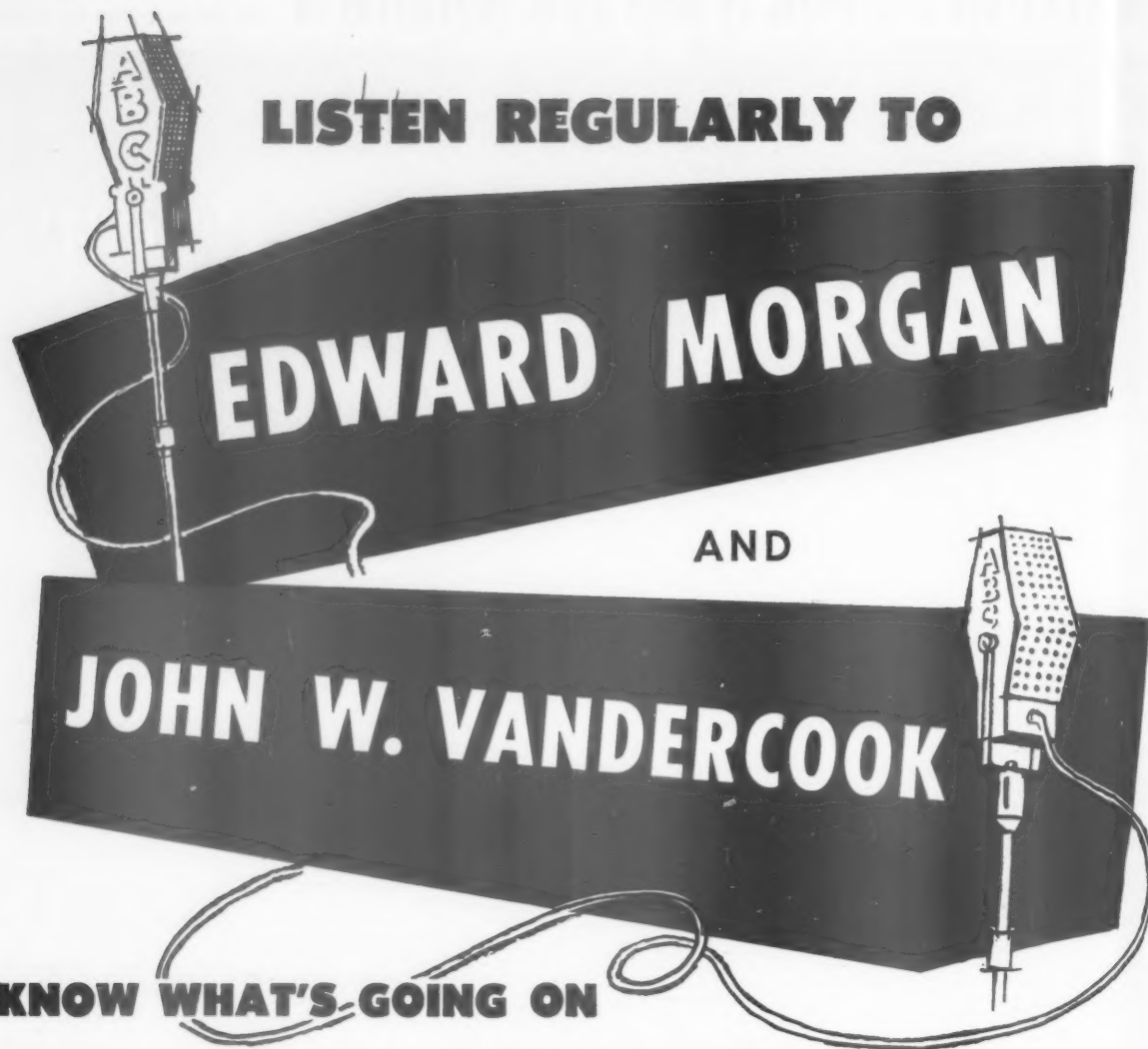
by James L. McDevitt

**We Are Stronger
Than Ever Before**

by Omer Becu

**The Post Office's Job
Is To Serve the People**

by William C. Doherty



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American

FEDERATIONIST

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APRIL, 1957

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

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Liberty's Blessings

To us who are fortunate enough to have it, liberty is our most valuable possession. For without that liberty, which we so blandly accept, beautiful houses, new cars, television sets and even happy homes would be impossible.

The value of liberty today is accentuated by the struggles going on in many corners of the world to attain it. We in America are fortunate. Our battle for freedom was fought for us in the 1770s. Today we are enjoying the fruits of the courage and toil put forth by our ancestors.

Equal opportunity for all is perhaps the most important of the blessings of liberty. Another is that tenet upon which our country's foundation is based—the belief in the worth of the individual. Still another of these rights that we not only take for granted but often abuse is that of self-government.

We are allowed to shape our own destinies and those of our posterity. But perhaps that is not what people think they are doing when they go to the polls to vote. Perhaps that's why so many don't bother to go.

Actions speak louder than words. The best way to show the worth of self-government is to vote capable men into office. The best way to show equality of men is to show no discrimination against men of a different race. The best way to show subjugated people that we are interested in their welfare is to work toward their liberation.

The blessings of liberty are many and varied. But in these critical times the cause of freedom must either advance or decline. It is up to us, the people of America, to see that it advances.

Mary Jane Madsen.

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Organizing... For a Better America

By JOHN W. LIVINGSTON
AFL-CIO Director of Organization

The AFL-CIO Department of Organization enjoys a unique privilege and bears a weighty responsibility. The privilege is the opportunity to help millions of working men and women to become trade unionists and thereby win happier lives for themselves and their dependents. If we can help to lift up those who are not yet in the great family of organized labor, we shall have performed a most important service not only for them and for our trade union movement but for our entire country.

Through organization we can make life brighter in millions of homes across the nation. Unionism will increase the purchasing power of the workers who are now unorganized, and this will buttress the prosperity of the nation.

The other side of the organizational coin is responsibility. Surely ours is no task to be lightly regarded or lightly undertaken. It is a job of the utmost importance, for it has significance not only for the millions of immediately affected working people and their children but for our country as a whole.

We know that the task of organizing the unorganized was not undertaken lightly by Sam Gompers, William Green and Philip Murray. What each of them accomplished in his day required understanding, determination, resourcefulness, courage—and unlimited quantities of sheer hard work. Surely it was no easy task to organize working people into unions in the early years of this century, and neither was it an easy task to organize wage-earners in the Thirties and Forties. And it isn't going to be a cinch, today and tomorrow, to organize additional millions of working people who are now unorganized. But it can be done.

I don't consider labor's present organizing problems harder than those which confronted Gompers, Murray and Green. But it must be recognized that the problems are different. For these are different times.

With the idea of tackling these organizing problems which confront us now, the AFL-CIO Department of Organization conducted five institutes last month. The entire field staff took part in these institutes, which were held in New York, Atlanta, Cleveland, Kansas City and San Francisco. The institutes were conducted under the direction of the headquarters staff of the Department.

We devoted much of our time at these meetings to an examination and discussion of techniques of organization. We realize how vitally important these techniques are if we expect to reach our goal.

We tore apart and put together various organizing



JOHN W. LIVINGSTON

pamphlets supplied us through the cooperation of the regional directors of organization. We took a good look at in-plant organizing committees, at general organizing meetings and at visits by organizers to the homes of prospective union members.

The importance of sound techniques has recently been stressed in a survey made by a leading university for one of our international unions. The survey team interviewed a sampling of workers in a plant after an organizing campaign and a representation election.

In some cases it is advisable to put much emphasis on the training of the members of in-plant committees, for they are the salesmen for unionism, ready to explain the practical benefits of union membership to the unorganized employees. Those who serve on in-plant organizing committees should be supplied with the information they need so that they may answer the questions prospective union members always ask.

Organizers of the unorganized must have tact and common sense as well as knowledge. Tact and patience are needed to get across the constructive message of

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modern AFL-CIO unionism in a friendly and convincing manner to those unorganized working people who are dubious about the value of union organization. Some of these unorganized workers have been taken in by clever anti-labor propaganda and are antagonistic to unions. Certainly it is essential to approach such misinformed workers in a diplomatic way.

The importance of group meetings to get across the message of unionism was not overlooked at our organizing institutes across the nation. The university survey to which I have referred demonstrated clearly that when a potential member attends just one meeting, he will almost always become a solid convert to unionism.

ONE OF the chief subjects before us at our institutes was the organization of America's unorganized white-collar workers. So far only 3,000,000 workers in the various white-collar fields have been organized. There is a potential of 13,000,000 to 14,000,000 white-collar workers following a great variety of occupations who remain to be organized. Of all the presently unorganized workers in the country, fully a half are in the various white-collar fields.

The white-collar toiler has economic problems and the desire to be respected and to be able to respect himself just like the man who wears a blue collar. The white-collar employe wants a decent standard of living—what we like to call the American standard of living—which only membership in an effective union can bring him.

Those of us who are organizers have found that many white-collar workers—but not all of them—have an attitude toward unionism which is not quite the same as that of manual workers. There are those white-collar workers who, though their weekly pay is low, identify themselves with management. Some of them have convinced themselves that if they curry their bosses' favor by working for miserably low pay today, they themselves will surely become lavishly compensated bosses in the future. This ridiculous misconception was far more widespread a generation ago—before the great depression—than it is now, but unfortunately there are still thousands of white-collar workers who cling to this completely false notion.

Our experience shows that white-collar workers can be reached—and reached successfully—with the message of modern unionism. One AFL-CIO international union in the white-collar field has, with the assistance of the Department of Organization, increased its membership by 30,000 in recent months.

The Department is also keenly interested in doing its full share of the vital job of organizing the Southern textile industry. This challenge presents a unique problem which was thoroughly discussed at the organizing institute in Atlanta. The benefits of effective unionism are sorely needed by the underpaid, overworked and insecure unorganized textile workers of the South.

The Department of Organization of the AFL-CIO has given help to most international affiliates which have indicated that they would welcome our assistance in their

organizing efforts. I want to emphasize that our Department stands ready at all times to help any AFL-CIO union which is seeking to organize the unorganized in conformity with the principles laid down by the united labor movement.

To help us to put across the proper techniques of home visits at our recent organizing institutes, we had a special film strip which had been made expressly for us by the AFL-CIO Department of Education. This film strip proved most valuable. We are grateful indeed to the Department of Education for its cooperation.

The organizers in attendance at the institutes were urged to use information and publications coming from the AFL-CIO Department of Research. The publications of that Department which we consider particularly useful in our organizing activities are those which deal with collective bargaining and economic facts and trends.

Organizing is the function assigned to our Department. But because of the basic and far-flung importance of organization, because of the obvious truth that without organization there simply could not be a labor movement, organizing is not the exclusive job of any one branch of our movement. At all times organizing must be a primary function of the labor movement as a whole and of each one of our affiliated unions. This will always be true, I am convinced.

All of us in the labor movement share the privilege and the responsibility of doing all we can to organize those who are still struggling along without the protec-



Organizers arriving for the Atlanta institute. How to spread unionism in the Southern textile industry got special attention at this meeting.



George Guernsey of the Department of Education, AFL-CIO, holds a slide for key men at New York organizing session, which was initial one held.

tion and the economic benefits of union membership.

As the director of the Department of Organization, I want to pay tribute to the many thousands of active union members who are helping from day to day with the work of organization. These members understand fully that the American trade union movement is the workers' own movement—a great humanitarian move-

ment built up over the years by the efforts and the sacrifices of millions of dedicated working people.

Wage-earners created our labor movement and they have made sacrifices to help it to grow. We should never forget the important contributions made by volunteer, unpaid organizers from the beginning of our movement.

In the vast undertaking which now confronts the AFL-CIO Department of Organization and the labor movement as a whole—the job of bringing millions of still unorganized and still exploited working people into our union family—the achievement of labor unity will prove a wonderful aid. Thanks to unity we can go forward with the job instead of foolishly dissipating our energies and our resources in inter-union strife.

Already there have been many state mergers, and as more mergers are completed in the months ahead among our state and city central bodies, thousands of active unionists across the nation will find themselves in a better position to help us reach our vitally important organizational objectives.

When labor unity has been achieved at every level, more volunteer organizers will be available than ever before in the history of organized labor anywhere on earth. Then we shall have much assistance in creating a union movement built on a foundation that can never be shaken.

As we move into the spring of 1957, everybody in the AFL-CIO Department of Organization is most eager to get on with the task of contributing in a practical way to the building of a happier and more prosperous America—through the spread of union organization.

Partial view of one of last month's five institutes. The field staff of the Department of Organization took part.





More than 2,500 building union representatives from across the nation attended the parley.

Building Trades Push Legislation

Washington Conference Is Big Success

ONE of the most successful meetings ever conducted by the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department was held in the nation's capital last month. It was the Department's annual national legislative conference, a four-day affair featuring visits by delegations from the various states to the offices of Senators and Representatives. The number of delegates taking part in the conference was the largest since these events were launched several years ago.

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, in an

The conference was under the guiding hand of Richard Gray, president of the Department.





President George Meany pledged the full support of the AFL-CIO.

address to the conference, revealed that the Administration was sending a message to Congress asking three revisions of the Taft-Hartley Act which are of particular concern to the building trades unions of the nation.

The three amendments backed by the Administration would:

- Permit "pre-hire" agreements in the building and construction industry by establishing procedures for certification of building trades unions as bargaining agents without National Labor Relations Board elections.

- Legalize trust funds jointly administered by employer and union for the purpose of carrying out apprenticeship and training programs.

- Allow union bargaining with groups of employers, such as building associations.

The proposed Taft-Hartley changes are one of the major legislative goals set by the Building and Construction Trades Department for the present session of Con-

gress. Other objectives include modernization of the Davis-Bacon Act and the enactment of comprehensive federal housing and school construction programs.

AFL-CIO President George Meany pledged the "full cooperation and support" of the national office of the united labor movement in the drive to secure passage of the changes in the Taft-Hartley Act sought by the Department.

"This legislation should be speedily enacted by Congress," he told the delegates.

President Meany pointed out that the proposals would permit the building trades unions "to do business in exactly the same manner" as other unions under the Taft-Hartley Act, taking into account the traditional "employment agency type of contracts" peculiar to the construction industry.

"This is legislation giving to building trades unions whatever advantages may



Taft-Hartley proposals were discussed by Secretary of Labor James Mitchell.

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Senator Pat McNamara addressed the parley.



Delegates gave speakers generous applause.

lie in the act and not denying them advantages accorded to other unions under it," he emphasized. "It should be passed for the benefit of the workers of the industry as well as the welfare of the industry itself."

Mr. Meany noted that under the present law, because of the short-term nature of construction jobs, the building trades unions are "denied the rights specifically spelled out in the law" for unions in other industries. Among these he listed the right of representation and the right of election to prove the desire of the majority of the workers.

The amendments, Mr. Meany said, would legalize a standard practice in the building industry which is made necessary because construction jobs are usually completed before an NLRB election can be held.

The four-day conference was under the chairmanship of Richard J. Gray, president of the Building and Construction Trades Department. He told the delegates that the proposed changes in the Taft-Hartley Act "should have a stabilizing influence on labor-management rela-

tions in the industry" and would go a long way "toward removing some of the legal blocks to long-standing and honored practices in the building industry."

The amendments, Mr. Gray said, would aid in meeting "the many legal dilemmas that the ill-fitting Taft-Hartley Act imposes on contractors and building trades unions."

The best wishes of President Eisen-



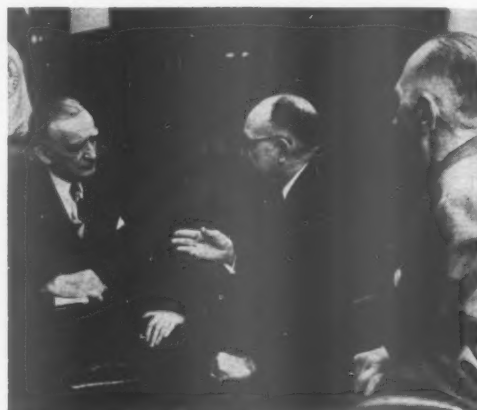
Congressman McConnell put emphasis on schools.



Michigan delegates visited Senator Potter. Similar sessions took place in scores of other Capitol Hill offices.



Missourians called on Congresswoman Sullivan.



Wyoming's Senator O'Mahoney listened.



Congressman Fogarty (left) and Secretary Murphy of Bricklayers. Lawmaker belongs to that union.



Congressman Rhodes (extreme left) enjoyed his meeting with union construction workers from Pennsylvania, his own state.

hower for a successful and productive conference were contained in a special message which was read to the delegates by Secretary of Labor Mitchell.

"With the national importance of your industry and your part in it come responsibilities which you have resolutely accepted," Mr. Eisenhower's message said. "This is an appropriate time to recognize the splendid contribution you have made to the economic strength of our land through adherence to the American tradition of freedom and self-discipline.

"I offer my congratulations to you for the leadership you have exercised in the critical area of wage and price policy. There is nothing more important to our security on the home front than concerted attack on the forces which threaten a steady depreciation of the value of our money."

Most of the delegates visited their Sen-



Louisiana group, visiting Senator Ellender, explained program to him.

ators and Congressmen in the lawmakers' offices on Capitol Hill. Some of the groups gave breakfasts, luncheons and dinners to which the legislators were invited. In almost every instance, the delegations were able to report back to the conference's closing session that they had been given courteous and sympathetic hearings when they discussed the elements of the Department's 1957 legislative program with members of the Senate and House.

New Jerseyites met with Senators Smith and Case. Man pointing is Sal Maso, Garden State building trades leader.



That 72 Billion Dollar Budget . . .

Can't We Afford It?

By **HYMAN H. BOOKBINDER**
Legislative Representative, AFL-CIO

EARLY this year the President of the United States sent to Congress a volume that was heavier and larger than the Chicago telephone directory. But on almost every one of its 1,165 pages were figures much larger than telephone numbers.

The volume was President Eisenhower's justification for his proposal that Congress permit him to spend 72 billion dollars in the twelve months starting July 1, 1957. It was the annual "budget" for Uncle Sam.

How much is 72 billion dollars? About a billion and a half dollars every week—about 200 million dollars every day. In the time it takes you to read this article, about ten minutes, Uncle Sam will have spent more than a million dollars!

Does this huge spending by our federal government frighten you or disturb you? In the two months since the budget was proposed, many people and newspapers have tried to frighten you. Leading the fear campaign was the President's own financial lieutenant, Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey.

"If government spending is not cut," the Secretary said, "I will predict that you will have a depression that will curl your hair."

The rather unusual spectacle of the President's No. 1 financial aide attacking the budget proposals of his chief was soon followed up by another fear-monger. Former President Herbert Hoover demanded a lowered budget and offered his credentials as an expert.

"My hair has already been curled



HYMAN H. BOOKBINDER

once," he said. "And I think I can detect the signs."

The huge budget, it is argued, will aggravate inflation. But this is a phony argument. Actually, even with \$72 billion expenditures, there will be a budget surplus of at least \$2 billion next year.

Mr. Eisenhower himself was chal-

lenged regarding the budget at a press conference. After all, his questioners reminded him, hadn't he made many speeches and campaign promises about bringing down the costs of government? His answer was simple and direct:

"As long as the American people demand—and, in my opinion, deserve—the kind of services this budget provides, we have got to spend this kind of money."

Here, in a single sentence, the President demolished all of the political nonsense of the campaign. The federal government's role—in the words of our Constitution—to "provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty" would just have to cost money.

In a recent speech Marion Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, stated:

"We say the federal government would fail to serve the people's interest if it stood idly by, indifferent to broad deficiencies in health, education or economic security. . . . We believe the federal government . . . can and should act in these fields for the benefit of all the people."

These statements by President

Only a small part of the budget goes for what might be called 'welfare' activities. National defense gets most of the money.

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Eisenhower and Mr. Folsom are welcome evidence that we have come a long way these past twenty-five years.

The New Deal and the Fair Deal once were bitterly attacked by political opponents as "welfare states" and "handout states," as programs which would "destroy" a free America.

Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman had to blaze new trails to extend the areas of government responsibility. But today, except for some diehards in both parties, there is substantial agreement in principle that a free, democratic society is enhanced rather than hurt by responsible government efforts to promote the general welfare.

But agreement in principle is not enough. There must be determination to resist unscrupulous cuts and to support expenditures which are in fact necessary to carry out our constitutional obligations. To do so requires an understanding of what the budget provides, what our capabilities are, what our unfilled needs are.

It is unfortunate that the President himself seems to have succumbed to the mounting pressures for slashing the budget. Instead of defending the budget which he himself asked Congress to support, he has urged Congress to cut wherever possible—but without indicating where or how.

IT GOES without saying, of course, that for every dollar we decide to spend, we must raise a dollar in taxes, unless we go further into debt. Nobody likes to pay taxes, and because of this, demands to "reduce the budget" seem very appealing. Wage-earners especially would welcome reduced taxes so that they could more easily meet the rising costs of living and enjoy a decent standard of living. But workers have demonstrated time and time again that they are ready to pay a fair share of the tax load through a fair tax system. Thus, they have never resisted increases in social security taxes; they want a solvent, sound social security system.

Reduced taxes would be very welcome. But more welcome would be reduced slums and school shortages, reduced threat of war and Communist aggression.

What makes up the proposed 72 billion dollar budget? The calamity-howlers would have us believe

that all or most of this money goes for bureaucrats in Washington who dream up crazy schemes for giving away our precious tax dollars. The fact is that only a very small part of the total budget goes for what might be called "welfare" activities. Here is a breakdown:

National Defense (including atomic energy)	\$41.3 billion
Mutual Security (military and economic)	4.8 "
Interest on Debt . . .	7.4 "
Veterans' Benefits . .	5.0 "
Agriculture	5.0 "
Labor and Welfare . .	3.5 "
Commerce and Housing	1.8 "
Natural Resources . .	1.5 "
General Government	1.5 "

Take a good look at this breakdown. Sixty-five cents of every tax dollar is going to build up our own defenses and those of our allies in order to deter Soviet aggression. Shall we cut this?

The AFL-CIO does not presume to have any expert judgment about the proper size of the military establishment. It does share the general apprehension, however, that we may be erring on the low side rather than the high side.

As far as foreign aid is concerned, labor has oftentimes been critical about specific aspects of this program, but labor has never swerved from its conviction that our country has made no better investment in world understanding and world peace than our mutual security program. We cannot permit budget-balancing preoccupation to weaken our efforts for peace and against world communism.

After defense and mutual security, there are only 26 billions left. But \$7.4 billion of this must be paid out in interest on the national debt. (It is interesting to note that the very ones who scream "cut the budget" have furthered the high-interest policies of government, which have added about half a billion dollars to the interest costs of the federal government.)

We will need about \$5 billion for meeting our obligations to our war veterans. Another \$5 billion is needed for our agricultural support program—and many people believe that even this is not enough.

But these facts of life have been conveniently ignored by some of the calamity-howlers. Without indicating where or how, some of them have talked about cutting the budget by two billions, by three billions, even by five billions. The most casual study of the figures listed will show that such cuts can be made only by cutting down our defense expenditures or by destroying much of the regular functions and responsibilities of our federal government.

A few weeks ago representatives of labor appeared before the subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee which deals with the labor and welfare portion of the budget. The AFL-CIO urged the committee to resist entering any competition on "who-can-cut-the-most" out of the proposed budget.

The AFL-CIO statement said:

"We are disturbed at the hue and cry which has been raised about the 'huge' budget which the President has submitted. Of course, it is huge. But so are our responsibilities. And so are our capabilities. Let those who are ready to sell America short wail and moan. The AFL-CIO will not join the hysterical 'cut the budget at any price' crowd.

"We have confidence in America's ability to meet its tremendous responsibilities both in the worldwide struggle against imperialistic communism and in the challenge at home to meet the needs of our people.

"Where shall the billions in budget cuts come from? Shall we stop our payments to veterans? Shall we stop our interest payments on the public debt? Shall we stop making soil bank payments to our farmers? Shall we cut the wages of our underpaid civil servants?

"Or shall we just nibble away at every regular program of the federal government—an arbitrary five per cent or ten per cent or twenty per cent cut right across the board?"

AT THE time this article is being written it is not known whether this subcommittee has joined the race to cut the budget. But two other subcommittees have set an unfortunate precedent. Cuts in the Post Office appropriations, for example, if un-restored in the Senate, would mean the loss of thousands of jobs and a tremendous (Continued on Page 28)

VOTER REGISTRATION MOVES TO THE FRONT

By JAMES L. McDEVITT

Director, AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education

THE Committee on Political Education has launched a big new push. The signal for starting the campaign was a two-day meeting in Washington. Officers of international unions and COPE's national office and field staff canvassed every detail of policy and tactics to make certain that the new effort will be a tremendous success.

The purpose of the drive is to get all trade unionists and their families registered for voting. Important elections are coming. We must be ready.

The Washington gathering was the last big official meeting for Jack Kroll, who has now retired from COPE after many years of devoted and effective service in the political work of the labor movement. He worked with me as co-director of COPE for more than a year after merger. I know I can call on him for invaluable advice and counsel whenever I need it in the years ahead, and I am going to do that often.

Jack Kroll signed the letters as co-director that we sent out announcing the new registration campaign to the AFL-CIO's state and local central bodies and to the state and local branches of the Committee on Political Education. It was a symbolic act, almost a ceremony, because Jack Kroll is one of the people who have stressed the great importance of registration over the years.

There is a new feature in the registration campaign this year. We are following the idea of AFL-CIO President George Meany in establishing registration as a year-round project, with permanent registration committees in all AFL-CIO local unions and central labor bodies to concentrate on this problem.

President Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler have written to all international unions asking them to set up such committees on the national level and to get



JAMES L. McDEVITT

their local affiliates to do so on the local level. Our letters to the AFL-CIO central bodies and to local COPE units appealed for immediate action. Copies of the AFL-CIO resolution adopted on January 30 outlining this program were enclosed with all communications.

We have all known for a long time that many people do not take advantage of their citizenship opportunities as they should. Trade unionists are no exception to this rule. Last year only about 60 per cent of the American people who could have voted actually did so, in spite of the great importance of the contests and the very genuine interest they generated all over the country. In the labor movement we have found, time after time, that our members and their families were not registered in anything like adequate numbers.

We have lost great opportunities in every election because too many trade unionists, although much interested in the campaign, had not taken a few minutes to get their names on the

election rolls in order to vote. There have been a great many specific situations around the country which have brought this problem very sharply to our attention in the Committee on Political Education.

We have talked at times with officers of local central bodies who have assured us quite emphatically that the members of their affiliated locals were fully registered. How did they know? Their confident answer was that they had asked the officers of local unions. And how did these officers of local unions know whether their members were signed up and qualified to vote? Why, they had asked them, of course.

COPE went into the matter further. We could not be satisfied with guesswork. And we found that there were a lot of illusions.

Members of unions, when asked whether they are registered to vote, are often ashamed to say no, and pass the question off with a wave of assurance. Most other people would probably do the same thing.

What they mean is that they are going to register when they get around to it. Their intentions are very good. But you can't vote on good intentions. You must be signed up.

So we would institute a systematic check. We would have the central body or council or local COPE get the names and addresses of all members of affiliated locals, calling on the locals to supply this information voluntarily. This information would then be transferred to index cards. The cards would be taken to the city hall or the county court house and checked against the public records to see whether people were really registered.

The result in far too many cases was shocking. Some local unions found that only 10 per cent of their members were qualified to vote. Hun-

dreds of locals found that less than 50 per cent of their members were on the registration books. The shock woke a lot of people up. Then union officers got busy. The policies which COPE had advocated for a long time were put into effect.

The card files were divided by ward and precinct. Workers were assigned to visit unregistered union members at their homes and talk with them about the great importance of exercising their privileges as citizens. Stress was placed on getting all the members of the family registered.

The result of this kind of concerted effort in the political field is always vastly encouraging. The key always is to get union people registered. And the key to big registration, in turn, is always the kind of systematic effort with lists and cards and registration headquarters checks I have described.

This is not to minimize the importance of the other major elements in a resounding political victory. These are distribution and discussion of voting records so that everybody knows what the score is, getting the voters to the polls after people have been registered and—underlying everything else—COPE's voluntary dollar contribution drive, so that we have the wherewithal of success.

IN ALL this political education work, women are of tremendous importance. Too many of our local central organizations do not recognize this fact clearly. They are not ready enough to take the women into their political education work.

But very often the women make much better COPE workers than the men. This is true whether they are wage-earners themselves or are at home. Wives and daughters of trade unionists may have more time for this kind of work than other people.

But even where women are working in the store, shop or office, and are pretty busy all day, they are apt to have a degree of enthusiasm when they go into political education work that some men don't have. So we try to impress on local COPE officials the importance of taking advantage of this kind of feminine talent wherever they can find it.

It is high time that everyone realized the crucial significance of the women's vote. There are more women in the United States who could vote if they registered and went to the polls than there are men.

At the present time there is a serious disparity in the way women vote in districts where working people live and the way they vote in the well-to-do neighborhoods. Women in the wealthier groups have been getting out and doing a job, whereas the women in the areas where working people are concentrated have been falling sadly behind the men in the total vote they cast.

Yet these women have the same loyalty to the union that their men have. They have seen the improvements that have taken place in their income situation and in job security since the union came along. They

have plans for their children that depend mainly on what the union is going to do for its members in the future.

The women know just as well as the men that the union could be destroyed and their gains wiped out by the kind of reactionary political force which is mobilizing behind the so-called "right to work" bills in the state legislatures and which is threatening even in Congress. Women have to be appealed to in the interest of their families to get them to register and cast their ballots.

That is why we have a women's activities de- (Continued on Page 27)

Al Barkan Is Promoted

LONG experienced in labor political action, Alexander E. Barkan has been appointed by President George Meany as deputy director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education under Director James L. McDevitt. Previously Mr. Barkan was assistant COPE director.

Earlier in his labor career he was executive secretary of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council, one of the first state bodies of the former CIO to set up an active political action organization. Wishing to apply his knowledge of union political activities on a nationwide basis, he became political action director of the Textile Workers Union of America in 1948, serving in that position until he joined COPE.

Mr. Barkan was graduated from the University of Chicago in 1933. For four years he was a teacher in the Bayonne, New Jersey, High School. In 1937, he went to work for the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, which was subsequently to become the Textile Workers Union.

Mr. Barkan was employed by TWOC as an organizer, serving principally in the New Jersey area, and later was named sub-regional director for that state.

Joining the Navy in 1942, he became a yeoman in communica-



ALEXANDER E. BARKAN

tions on the U.S.S. Alabama. He was in engagements in the Atlantic and Pacific, winning fifteen battle stars. The Rev. Dr. John Glenn, former rector of historic St. John's Episcopal Church, adjoining the AFL-CIO Building in Washington, was the Alabama's chaplain.

Upon his discharge from the Navy, Mr. Barkan became veterans' director of the CIO Community Services Committee in 1945. The following year he went to work for the New Jersey CIO Council.

COPE's new deputy director is a native of Bayonne. His wife formerly was an organizer for the Textile Workers in New Jersey, where he met her. The Barkans have two daughters.

Editorial

By GEORGE MEANY

The Need for Action

A FEW months ago the AFL-CIO sent research teams into three widely spaced communities to find out in human terms, rather than cold statistics, how families manage to live on an income less than the present \$1 an hour federal minimum wage.

These investigators found the same story in Asheville, North Carolina, in Springfield, Missouri, and in Pottsville, Pennsylvania—that people living on such meager wages were barely able to exist, that they had to go without good food, decent homes and other necessities of life basic to our vaunted American standards.

If these families were only an exceptional few, it would not become a national problem. But the fact is that twenty million American workers are still being paid less than the federal minimum wage. These workers are engaged in industries which for various reasons are now exempted from the minimum wage and maximum hours provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Congress is considering legislation to broaden the coverage of that law to include some ten million of the twenty million workers now excluded. Needless to say, the AFL-CIO warmly supports this legislation, as spelled out in S. 1267, a bill introduced by Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon and a number of other Senators.

Our support is not based upon selfish motives. This legislation would not give wage increases to union members, most of whom earn considerably more than the \$1 federal minimum. We are

backing the cause of the lowest-paid one-fifth of the workers of the nation who are unorganized and who, for that very reason, must look to Congress for alleviation of their substandard conditions.

When the Fair Labor Standards Act was first enacted in 1938, it provided for a minimum wage of 25 cents an hour. Yet some employers vociferously complained that they would be driven out of business if they had to pay such "high" wages. We heard the same pleas of poverty from this same minority of employers each time the minimum wage was raised in successive stages over the years to 40 cents, then to 75 cents and again to \$1 an hour. Undoubtedly, we are going to hear a similar chorus of protests against the Morse bill.

Let me emphasize that the AFL-CIO would not favor the Morse bill if it really would have a damaging effect upon American business and industry. It is to our interest to create more jobs, not to destroy existing ones. What we are trying to do is to bolster the weak spot in our economy—the continued existence of substandard wages and working conditions among millions of American workers, who are therefore unable to buy and consume what they need.

That is what is going to hurt American business most in the long run—the lack of a broader market—rather than the requirement to pay minimum wages which are still below decent subsistence levels.

We expected opposition from narrow-minded employer organizations, which have always blindly resisted progressive measures that eventually redounded to their benefit. But we were surprised and disappointed by the position taken by the Eisenhower Administration.

For several years now President Eisenhower has strongly endorsed broader coverage of the minimum wage. Both at press conferences and in official messages to Congress, the President has used emphatic language to point up his personal view that broader coverage was even more important than a higher minimum.

Yet when Secretary of Labor Mitchell at last

revealed the Administration's specific program the other day, it fell far short of expectations. He recommended legislation to the Senate Labor Subcommittee that would only extend minimum wage coverage to 2,500,000 additional workers. They would still not get the maximum hours protection of the law. The Mitchell plan would leave out in the cold entirely 7,500,000 workers covered by the Morse bill.

For these reasons, we consider the Mitchell recommendations tragically short of the nation's needs.

We hope Congress will go far beyond that limited program and adopt the Morse bill.

The Power of Principle

AS THIS is written, the latest crisis in the Middle East seems to be simmering down. Israeli troops have withdrawn from the Gaza Strip and U.N. troops have moved in. There are still many difficult problems to be met in the area and the free world should now devote itself toward their peaceful solution.

During the breathing spell it would be well for the American people and their government to re-examine the position of the United States in Middle East affairs and in the world at large.

We stand as the champions of peace. But it must be made crystal clear that the kind of peace we are talking about is peace *with freedom*.

During the recent crisis our government seemed to forget that. It came to the brink of siding with the forces of dictatorship against freedom in the name of peace. It came dangerously close to deserting the fundamental principles upon which our nation was founded in order to buy peace by appeasement.

To what extent the policy of our government was influenced by powerful oil interests, anxious to preserve their holdings in the Middle East, is a debatable question. But it was a dark day in American history when our representatives joined with Egyptian Dictator Nasser and Soviet Russia in advocating U.N. sanctions against Israel.

In the Middle East, Israel stands for our kind

of freedom and democracy. It is fighting, against great odds, to build a better life for its people, many of whom are refugees from Nazi dictatorship. Ringed with implacable enemies, Israel, although sincerely devoted to peace, was finally provoked into retaliation against their constant raids and aggression.

These are well-known facts. How did our government lose sight of them? How did we lose our way and wind up at one point on the wrong side of the argument, along with Nasser and Khrushchev?

Truly the Administration and especially the State Department owe the American people an answer to these questions.

America, with its long-time history as a haven for those seeking to escape from religious, political and economic oppression, should be frankly sympathetic with Israel in the Middle East. That does not mean hostility to the Arab world. Our country should, at the same time, support the legitimate desires of the North African peoples for national independence and freedom from the evils of colonization.

By following such an honest and consistent course, America can once again stand before the world armed with the power of principle, re-inspired by the American ideal and confident of the eventual victory of peace with freedom.



OMER BECU

We Are STRONGER Than Ever Before

By OMER BECU
*General Secretary, International
Transport Workers Federation*

THE International Transport Workers Federation, founded in 1896, is an international organization which aims to embrace the trade unions of the transport workers of all countries, irrespective of their color, nationality, race or creed.

"It is a free trade union body, established to defend and further, on the international plane, the economic and social interests of transport workers of all kinds and their trade unions. It stands for the defense of democracy and freedom and is opposed to colonialism, totalitarianism and aggression in all their forms."

That, briefly and clearly, is the International Transport Workers Federation according to the preamble to its constitution—an association of trade unions in the free world engaged in the transportation of men and merchandise. Its 167 constituent unions, with a total membership of close to 7,000,000, are to be found today in five continents and fifty-five countries, organizing truck drivers in Finland, longshoremen in New Zealand, airline pilots in the United States, railwaymen in the Philippines, fishermen in Iceland, boatmen on the Rhine and seamen in Panama.

The unions range from the very large to the very small. No two of them are alike in locale, shape and

size—but in three respects they are identical. Each of them is concerned wholly or partly in transportation. Each is a genuine guardian of its members' interest. None is controlled by totalitarian influences.

The International Transport Workers Federation is one of several international trade secretariats. Just as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is an international body, grouping in the main national federations such as the AFL-CIO for the defense of the free world's workers in general, so the international trade secretariats are concerned with the workers in a particular industry or group of industries. The International Transport Workers Federation is concerned with transport workers. Similar organizations exist for metal workers, printers, textile workers and others.

The International Transport Workers Federation, in common with the other trade secretariats, is not an affiliate of the ICFTU. It is an entirely independent body with complete autonomy over its own affairs. Naturally and necessarily, the Transport Workers Federation maintains close touch with the ICFTU—to the mutual benefit of both bodies. It also plays its part in the International Trade Secretariats Liaison Committee of the ICFTU, which

helps to coordinate the secretariats' activities. But beyond these friendly and mainly informal links the Transport Workers Federation and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions are separate units.

WHEN Jules Verne's fictional hero went around the world in eighty days, he made the world gasp in disbelief. If he took that long nowadays, the common reaction would be to ask why he did not go by air. Europe and America are separated by a few hours in a modern airplane; in terms of traveling time Los Angeles and Tokyo are neighbors.

Fifty years ago international trade unionism could be dismissed by those who cared little for it as nothing more than a pious affirmation of faith in a lofty but hardly practical idea—"international solidarity." Today international trade unionism is not empty idealism (personally, I do not believe it ever was) but hard realism.

National boundaries have lost much of their meaning. What happens on one side of the world is likely to have its effect within days or even hours on the other. Anyone in 1957 who chooses to turn his back on the rest of the world does so at his peril because the world is on his doorstep, whether he likes it or not.

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If this is undeniably true for any worker, it is doubly true for the transport worker, the man whose efforts have drawn the nations of the world together. Much of his work is international, piloting planes over whole continents, sailing ships across vast oceans. To such as these the conduct of international affairs for good or evil is shown as clearly in his paycheck as at any United Nations meeting.

When the Machinists, an affiliate of the International Transport Workers Federation, struck an American airline, the company was defeated in its attempt to service its planes abroad because the Machinists had for some time realized the practical worth of international affiliation. When plans are far advanced for European economic unity, the European workers, too, can gladly testify to the vital need for international trade union cooperation.

In short, if a dozen men live on a dozen islands, each inaccessible, they can afford to live indifferent to the fate of the others. Put them all in one boat and they must pull together—or get nowhere.

The International Transport Workers Federation celebrated its sixtieth birthday at its congress last year in Vienna. As an international body it is older even than the ICFTU and its forerunners, a fact which is not surprising if what I have said—that by his very calling the transport worker must look beyond national horizons—is kept in mind.

The birth of the International Transport Workers Federation owed much to the British seamen's and longshoremen's leaders of the 1890s, but it was not many years before the "International" part of its name became a true indication of the organization's structure rather than the expression of a hope for the future.

Essentially a maritime organization at first—its original name was the International Federation of Ship, Dock and River Workers—it was soon to gain membership among the railwaymen, road and—in recent years—civil aviation workers.

THE International Transport Workers Federation has survived two world wars and onslaughts from dictatorships of the left and the right. In the First World War it survived and in the Second World War it not only survived but worked effectively, if quietly, for the Allied cause. At the end of the Second World War it began once more to gather strength, first recovering ground lost during the Fascist and war eras and then developing to a point where the Federation now stands stronger, numerically and in influence, than ever before.

Its affiliates cater for every type of transportation, by land, sea and air. They retain absolute control over their own affairs but unite within the Federation for the attainment of the objectives which are spelled out in its constitution. These objectives are:

"To support national and interna-

tional action in the struggle against economic exploitation and political oppression and to make international working-class solidarity effective.

"To cooperate in the establishment of a world order based on the association of all peoples in freedom and equality for the promotion of their welfare by the common use of the world's resources.

"To seek universal recognition and enforcement of the right of trade union organization.

"To defend and promote, on the international plane, the economic, social and occupational interests of all transport workers.

"To represent the transport workers in international agencies performing functions which affect their social, economic and occupational conditions.

"To furnish its affiliated organizations with information about the wages and working conditions of transport workers in different parts of the world, legislation affecting them, the development and activities of their trade unions and other kindred matters."

The structure of the International Transport Workers Federation is quite simple. The policy-making body is the biennial congress. Between congresses this function is exercised by the general council, which is elected at the congress with certain limitations designed to insure that no undue weight is given to any one area or branch of the transport industry.

The administration of the Federa-

Last year's Vienna congress was attended by the largest number of delegates in ITF history.





Delegates at the 1955 conference in Tokyo. At that parley it was decided to establish an Asian regional office.

tion and the implementation of congress or general council policy are the responsibility of the executive committee, also elected at the congress.

The executive committee has power to co-opt up to four additional members if it feels this is needed to reflect more closely the geographical distribution of the Federation's membership.

A management committee, consisting of four representatives of the affiliated unions in the country where the Federation's headquarters are housed, supervises the running of the secretariat and other matters of administrative detail.

The general council, which normally meets after a congress, elects a president (who presides over the congress, the general council and the executive committee) and a vice-president from among the executive committee members.

The general secretary, the chief executive official of the organization, whose functions are similar to those of the president of an American union, is elected at the congress itself.

One or more assistant general secretaries may be appointed by the executive committee. Officers are elected for two-year terms and are eligible for reelection.

An important part of the activities of the International Transport Workers Federation is conducted by the industrial sections. There are seven—railwaymen, road transport workers, inland waterway workers, dockers (longshoremen), seafarers, fishermen and civil aviation staff. In these sections matters of common concern can be discussed and industrial policy decided. The sections hold conferences and elect section committees. Section secretaries are appointed by the executive committee at the proposal of the section conferences concerned.

OUR publications are prepared by the research and publications department of the secretariat. The magazine of the International Transport Workers Federation is published monthly in English and bi-monthly in German. A fortnightly press report—a digest of news of interest to trans-

port trade unions—appears in English, French, German and Swedish. A monthly paper in Spanish is issued from the Latin American office and an Asian press report is put out by our Tokyo office. In addition to the periodicals, brochures and booklets on specific topics are published as required.

The secretariat is small, some twenty-five strong, and includes a wide variety of nationalities. The London headquarters are to be found in Maritime House, a fine modern building owned and largely occupied by the British National Union of Seamen.

Nowhere has the International Transport Workers Federation done more effective work than in the International Labor Organization. From the very beginning the Federation has supported the aims of the International Labor Organization and worked for their fruition.

It regards this association of workers, governments and employers as of prime importance, for if the ILO's objectives are to "raise working and living standards throughout the

world" and in so doing to "eliminate the social injustices, with their consequence in unrest, which constitute a cause of war," then these are also objectives of the Transport Workers Federation.

I am proud of what the International Transport Workers Federation has contributed to the International Labor Organization. As I write this article, the ILO has published a draft code on safety and hygiene in dock work which is based on a detailed program prepared by the dockers' (longshoremen's) section of the Transport Workers Federation.

Some of the most far-reaching international conventions and recommendations in the maritime industry were conceived at conferences and congresses of the Federation. The Seattle conventions, which cover almost every aspect of the seaman's life—wages, hours, manning, food and catering, medical examination, accommodations, social security, pensions and paid vacations—were born of Transport Workers Federation initiative.

I know as well as anyone that the International Labor Organization often has to work slowly, and I know, too, that its decisions cannot be forced upon all its member states, let alone

non-members. But as a pace-setter, as a moral force and as an example of cooperation among the three parties, workers, governments and employers, involved in the regulation of labor conditions, the ILO is of immense value.

Our participation in international agencies extends, of course, beyond the ILO. A close interest is taken in any bonafide international body whose work is likely to affect the Federation's affiliated membership, and the ITF is never slow to formulate and propagate its views to them, wherever possible by active representation at the meetings themselves.

I TRIED to show a little earlier that in the modern world international trade unionism is an economic necessity and not a mere sentimental attachment to "solidarity"—also that for transport workers this is truer than for any others. "Panlibhonco" is a case in point. This rather comic name was coined by the International Transport Workers Federation to describe ships flying the flags of Panama, Liberia, Honduras and Costa Rica (the latter shows signs lately of better ways), countries without maritime traditions or experience in which ships are registered partly because of

reduced taxation but in large measure because they have none of the legislative occupational safeguards won by seamen over the years in countries such as the United States and the European maritime powers.

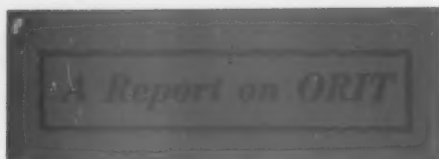
The dreadful threat inherent in the increasing registration of tonnage under these "flags of convenience" is obvious. Seafaring is an international profession, and to have fleet upon fleet of ships regulated by farcical rules of safety, hygiene and accommodation, sailed by seamen with practically no protection for their wages or conditions, is a situation of extreme gravity for every seaman and officer.

The International Transport Workers Federation has fought Panlibhonco in the ILO and on the ships themselves. With the aid of affiliated longshoremen's and seamen's unions, Panlibhonco ships have been boycotted at the quay and held until the owners signed an ITF collective agreement guaranteeing decent pay and conditions. For this purpose the ITF has a special section headed by a special officer. Not surprisingly, in view of the size of the problem, progress is slow—but our pressure is unrelenting.

This is possibly the most publicized of our (Continued on Page 30)

Transport Workers Federation fights against companies which exploit their employees.





Progress Through Partnership

By WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER

A FEW weeks after attending the African Regional Conference of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, I went to Mexico City to represent the AFL-CIO at the Executive Board meeting of ORIT, the Inter-American Regional Organization of the ICFTU.

The African meeting saw the birth of a new organization, in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and great expectation, with many godfathers from different parts of the world present at the christening. The Mexico City meeting, on the other hand, saw the working of a mature organization, self-supporting and made wiser by years of experience.

There were about two dozen people attending the Mexico City meeting, which is held once a year. The proportion of the Latin Americans to the English-speaking members from the United States, Canada and the Caribbean area was about two to one. Although the affiliates from the United States and Canada do contribute the greater share of the ORIT income, as attested by ORIT's published financial reports, and do represent the overwhelming majority of the membership, there is no question that ORIT is led by and reflects the policies of the majority of its affiliated organizations from the Latin American area.

I have deliberately raised this point because the assertion is often made, within and without the international free labor movement, that the massive weight and numerical strength of the United States affiliates, particularly the AFL-CIO, is



WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER

bound to have excessive influence over ORIT affairs. In practice, however, deliberate precautions are being taken to avoid precisely the possibility of such excessive influence.

As a matter of fact, some criticism was raised at the Mexico City meeting regarding the tendency to relegate the U.S. affiliates to a secondary position, so as to make sure that the danger of "domination" is eliminated.

ORIT was organized in January, 1951, in Mexico City following the organization thirteen months earlier of the ICFTU in London. However, there existed in the Western Hemisphere, long before the ICFTU was born, the Inter-American Confederation of Workers (CIT), which was established in January, 1948, in Lima, Peru, with the participation of the old American Federation of Labor and a number of other unions of the Western Hemisphere.

The CIT actually promoted the Mexico City meeting at which ORIT came into being and went out of existence after the "baby" was safely born and delivered. It can be said, therefore, that ORIT is actually nine years old—enough to have acquired, in trade union language, a very substantial degree of maturity and experience.

During this period of nine years the organization has gone through many growing pains with a few internal disagreements. On the whole, it has demonstrated a steady growth which attests to the effectiveness of the partnership between the labor movements of North America and Latin America.

This partnership, as I stated during the course of the recent Mexico City meeting, is based on the principle and practice of the same rights and same duties, prompted only by the desire to serve our fellow men and to strengthen in the New World the causes of democracy, freedom and inter-American solidarity.

But even more impressive was the program for the year 1957, which provides for expanded activities in every field.

ORIT's budget, adopted after two days of deliberation, contemplates expenditures nearly double those of 1956. This was made possible by additional special or regular contributions from the AFL-CIO, the Cuban Confederation of Workers (CTC), several other affiliates and particularly the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

ICFTU Director of Organization

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This picture was snapped at the ORIT Executive Board meeting in Mexico City. Seen at the table, from left to right, are Fidel Velasquez of Mexico, ORIT General Secretary Luis Alberto Monge and ORIT President Ignacio Gonzales Tellechea. Military dictatorships were scored.

Charles Millard presented a plan of activities, to be financed by the ICFTU but conducted through the machinery of ORIT, which will enable the organization to strengthen its educational work in many parts of Latin America and the Caribbean area.

The plan envisages the appointment of special organizers and area supervisors. This is a novel experiment which requires the utmost care in order to avoid friction and misunderstanding. Our Latin American brothers, even those from countries that from the trade union point of view may be considered underdeveloped, are very proud of their achievements and capabilities. Most of them are reluctant to admit the need for outside direction or supervision.

THE ORIT Executive Board faced this issue squarely and thoroughly. It recommended the closest possible collaboration and consultation between the ICFTU and ORIT, so that all projects may be launched and executed with the full cooperation of all parties concerned.

The Mexico City meeting reiterated our strong opposition to military dictatorships in Latin America which constitute a constant threat to our democratic way of life. Moreover, as for the struggle against communism and its aggressive designs, the Board fully concurred with the conclusion presented in this respect by General Secretary Luis Alberto Monge, who eloquently

pointed out that the military dictatorships in Latin America, although vocally anti-Communist, in practice give aid and comfort to the Communist movement and create the social and economic conditions under which the Communist Party thrives and grows.

I am pleased in this connection to

relate the feeling of appreciation on the part of our Latin American brothers, as revealed during the discussions at this ORIT meeting, for our organization's uncompromising opposition to the totalitarian forces of Latin America and for our complete solidarity, expressed in words and deeds, with the oppressed trade union forces fighting for the reestablishment of democracy and freedom.

Criticism was offered against the policies and practices of certain North American companies. Complaints were voiced against the lack of concern over the suppression of democracy in a number of Latin American countries shown by United States legislators and organs of public opinion.

However, there was unanimous recognition that organized labor in the United States, because of steadfast cooperation with Latin American labor and its understanding of Latin America's needs and aspirations, has effectively contributed to the strengthening of the ideals of inter-American solidarity at the level of the people themselves.

It was felt that such concern for the individual counts most because it is spontaneous and everlasting.



Histadrut Award Goes to President Meany

AFL-CIO PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY is being congratulated by Foreign Minister Golda Meir of Israel after he received the Histadrut Humanitarian Award at a dinner in New York. The presentation was made by the National Committee for Labor Israel. Mr. Meany castigated Communist Russia as "the principal culprit in the Middle East crisis." The toastmaster was David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

THE POST OFFICE'S JOB IS

To Serve the People

Those who perform the work are justified in asking Uncle Sam for adequate pay. The nation's postal employees can't make ends meet on the meager wages they are now receiving.

By WILLIAM C. DOHERTY
President, National Association of Letter Carriers

HISTORY will verify that our postal system is older than the nation itself. A year before the Declaration of Independence was framed, the Continental Congress appointed Ben Franklin as the first postmaster general of the new United States Postal system.

In addition to its longevity among federal departments, the postal establishment has another claim to fame—albeit of somewhat dubious character. In the years since Ben Franklin's era, there has seldom been a let-up in the controversy about the role our postal system should play.

Arguments can be advanced by both proponents and opponents on the question: "What is the role of the postal establishment?"

Is it primarily a public service which, like other federal departments and agencies, is adjudged worth what it costs? Or is it primarily a business venture operating within the framework of accepted business concepts? In brief, should our postal system break even or, indeed, make a profit, or should it not?

Not only has this controversy generated a considerable amount of heat but—unlike many other arguments—it has also produced a great deal of light. Unfortunately, no solution has been reached on the main issue.

In the early days of the nation, the role intended for the postal system was clearly defined. The founding fathers made abundantly clear what they had in mind when they instructed the first postmaster general:

"If the necessary expense shall exceed the produce, the deficiency shall be made good by the united colonists."

President George Washington, in an early message to Congress, advocated transmission of publications free of charge through the mails as a means of unifying the new nation. The lawmakers agreed with him. In reply to Washington's message, Congress said:

"The circulation of political intelligence through these vehicles is justly reckoned as the surest means of preventing the degeneracy of a free government."

Proponents of the "service first" concept can take comfort in these and subsequent pronouncements. In 1814 Congress returned to this policy after a brief experiment in authorizing new post roads only when they could show that a profit would be realized. In 1844 the self-sustaining theory was again rejected after a careful study by a postal commission appointed by Congress. In 1851 Congress stated firmly:

"The Post Office is primarily a service organization."

Many postmasters general have associated themselves with this service concept, although the thesis that the nation's postal system should be self-sustaining is not without its vigorous supporters.

Postmaster General Creswell, in 1869, was of the strong conviction that a pay-as-you-go policy was the only sane way in which to operate.



WILLIAM C. DOHERTY

However, he made a complete about-face two years later and, in his report to Congress, argued against the profit motive. He thought it was necessary for private enterprise but stated that "a government system, managed in the interests of the people, pursues exactly the opposite course."

In 1920 Postmaster General Will Hays said:

"The Post Office is not for profit nor for politics, but for service."

Congress, the Executive Branch and mail users still demand good postal service, but sometimes their enthusiasm for resolving what is popularly referred to as a "postal deficit" defeats these demands.

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There aren't many citizens who work harder than the postal employees. And their work is vital. To deny them a needed wage increase because of the so-called 'postal deficit' is hardly fair.

suggested the complete abandonment of the service concept to embrace an all-out drive for a self-supporting postal service. They have not reached for the profit goal as yet, but in their zeal to prove that a "postal deficit" exists they are willing not only to refuse to underwrite the necessary cost of a mail service in an ever-expanding and dynamic national economy, but they also willingly forfeit existing services.

This happened in 1950 when several vital postal functions were either curtailed or eliminated. These cuts were made under the pious guise of "balancing the budget." Currently there is thinking along the same lines.

PERHAPS our generation has developed a blasé attitude toward the contributions made by the postal service to the growth and development of our nation. The mails have aided our commerce, diffused knowledge among our people and served to unify the nation. Given the proper tools, the postal establishment will continue to make and enlarge upon these contributions.

Proper tools are not exclusively fair and reasonable postal rates, as some would believe, but must include a modern wage structure, labor-management policies, supplies and equipment.

The motives of those who believe

increased postage rates will cure all the ills of the postal establishment are not questioned. Their arguments are sincerely presented and well intentioned. However, it does seem that more emphasis, more information, more public enlightenment should be directed toward the positive features of the postal service. This suggestion would hold true in the field of costs to the taxpayers, as well as statistics pointing up the multiplicity of services performed—both postal and non-postal.

It is one thing to say that service is provided to 70,000,000 citizens from 37,000 local offices, spread out over more than 3,600,000 square miles of American territory. The magnitude and complexity of the postal system require more than 520,000 employees. They work in terminals, on trains, in small and large post offices.

Each year rural carriers cover 1,500,000 miles of good roads and some not so good; 135 horseback routes are still in existence; ninety-six carriers deliver mail by boat; thirty-two routes call for delivery by private airplane; and more than 100,000 city letter carriers whom I have the honor to represent trudge the streets collecting and delivering more than 50,000,000,000 pieces of mail a year.

These statistics will prove that the American postal establishment is an

enormous undertaking in an era of giant commercial enterprises and huge corporations. But these Bunyanese characteristics standing alone neither prove nor disprove that postal operating expenses are as "costly" as some would have us believe. An examination of the facts discloses that these operating costs are not the major contributing factor to the national budget problem we hear so much about these days.

It is true that postal revenue seldom has exceeded expenditures. All agree on that. No one has asserted or attempted to prove that it is not so.

WHAT constitutes the principal unresolved area of disagreement is whether the disparity between operating costs and revenues is to be treated differently in the Post Office Department from the way it is treated in other departments and agencies of government. It is because of the absence of a clear-cut policy on the subject that the postal system has become the whipping boy in any discussion of federal spending.

The facts do not support this unenviable role of "spendthrift of the nation." A look at the figures reported in the President's budget for fiscal 1955 discloses a gross postal budget expenditure of 2,714 millions of dollars. Applicable receipts of public enterprise for the same period

are listed as 2,390 millions of dollars. This indicates that approximately 88 per cent of its costs were recaptured in the form of postal charges and other revenue.

Compare this 88 per cent figure with some of the other federal departments for the same fiscal year. The following table shows that the postal system comes closer to "paying its way" than any other agency:

	Gross Budget Expenditures (Millions of dollars)	Applicable Receipts (Millions of dollars)
Agriculture ..	6,018	2,974
Commerce ...	1,142	18
Health, Edu- cation and Welfare ...	1,994	2
Interior	546	34
Justice	179	Less than 1
Labor	401	1
State	142	Less than 1
Treasury	1,153	644

These figures reflect the expenses and revenue from measurable services performed. The Post Office, in addition, provides many immeasurable services, some of which are non-postal in nature. In this category is included the unmistakable contributions a good postal system makes in the unending effort to think together and work together toward building a world community of free peoples through communication.

There are also many measurable non-postal services performed by the Post Office which are reflected in its operating costs. Among those in this category are the handling of documentary stamps and the collection of duty for the Collector of Customs.

EVERYONE these days is conscious of federal spending. Well they might be, in view of the taxes levied against all of us. In this connection, the interest of postal employees is no less lively than that of other citizens. But in one area they have a particular stake because invariably their legitimate economic interests are involved.

This particular phase of public spending is the cost of operating the postal service. As long as no policy exists to identify the proper role of the service, it is unlikely that the controversy over the alleged postal deficit will subside. And until it does or until it is clearly understood what constitutes the "deficit," postal employees are going to be squarely in the middle. Every time in recent years

they have gone before Congress for a wage increase, they have been confronted with the bugaboo of a "postal deficit."

Once again the employees are about to be put through the wringer in their quest for a fair and adequate wage scale. Before a Congressional hearing two years ago, I presented a statement bearing directly on this point. I said:

"It has always been difficult for postal employees to rationalize the fish-on-the-one-hand-fowl-on-the-other thinking when their wages are concerned. No one suggests paying a forest ranger on the basis of admittance charges to any of our national parks. Army personnel are not paid according to PX receipts.

"Why, then," asks the postal employee, 'must my salary always be tied in with postal revenues and postage rates? Why not determine it on the basis of the very human need for adequate wages to enable me to purchase food, warmth, shelter, to say nothing of recreation and health and education of my children?'

"It is a justifiable inquiry."

A recent report submitted to the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee by a Citizens Advisory Council, created in the Eighty-fourth Congress, commented as follows:

"We fail to see why there should be any connection between postal rates and postal pay. The laborer should be worthy of his hire, and the fact that it costs money to operate the postal service should not influence the level of postal pay."

In private enterprise no reasonable person would maintain that a company would be justified to remain in business *only* because inadequate wages make it possible to continue to meet competition. This is the position which some would have the government adopt in relation to postal wages. The government has no more right to use poor wages as an excuse for staying in the postal business than General Motors has to deny fair wage treatment on the grounds that it must follow that course to compete in the automotive industry.

The time-honored procedure for effectively burying a wage request from employees is to establish a "study group" or a committee whose charter can be indefinitely continued. In recent weeks this method was given a severe jolt.

Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson appointed a committee headed by Ralph J. Cordiner of General Electric. The complement of the Cordiner committee listed other equally distinguished leaders from the industrial world. The group was known formally as the Defense Advisory Committee on Professional and Technical Compensation. Its study was confined to positions in professional and technical categories of the Defense Department.

However, its findings and recommendations have equal application in many areas to all federal employees, including postal workers. Stripped to its essentials, the Cordiner committee's report simply states that the wages of government workers have not kept pace with the compensation paid to workers in private industry.

At this writing, the report has not been officially released. Newspaper stories suggest the White House is reluctant to allow the report to be released. On the basis of excerpts from the report appearing in news stories, one might readily say that White House reluctance is understandable.

The report is said to be critical of the unconcern at the "progressive lowering of the level of the department's civilian work force" resulting from inadequate government pay. That criticism would have application in any agency of the federal government.

AT ANOTHER point the Cordiner committee's report is said to puncture one of the most prevalent misunderstandings about federal employment. It is the area of so-called fringe benefits. Newspapers have published the following excerpt:

"Furthermore, the federal government has lost the advantage it once enjoyed in the area of fringe benefits. In brief, the magnet of interesting work and public service is no longer strong enough to overcome the pull of higher salaries in non-federal employment."

The report also is said to comment on recruitment problems within the Defense Department. This is not a problem exclusive to that agency. The Post Office Department also finds this a headache—and a costly headache.

In Minneapolis, for example, fifty-three civil service examinations were conducted in an effort to recruit needed postal personnel. One a year

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or two at most would normally suffice. From the fifty-three examinations, 1,343 men were given follow-up assignments to report to work. Of this small number only 526 accepted. The others apparently had been disenchanted by the meager pay offered.

"Pay is the most tangible condition of work to a newcomer to the labor market," the Cordiner report says.

It is interesting to note that of the 526 men who did accept postal employment in Minneapolis, 320 quit for greener financial pastures within a year.

When it is considered that cost estimates range from \$100 to \$300 simply to recruit and put a man on the job in the postal service, it will be readily seen that a high quit-rate is a tremendous drain on the national treasury.

Although most of the Cordiner committee's conclusions have specific reference to limited segments of employment in the Defense Department, one conclusion is applicable to every person who works for a living, in or out of government. The report says:

"Employees must receive sufficient

compensation to enable them to establish and maintain a standard of living which will allow them to discharge their responsibilities to their families and to their employers."

It is to be hoped that, when the question of wages for postal workers comes before Congress at this session, the matter will be considered on its merits and in the light of the philosophy that every man is worthy of his hire. It is to be hoped, further, that it will be remembered that the postal worker is not merely a statistic in the federal or postal budget, that the presence or absence of proper postage rates is not involved, that a bookkeeping difference between revenues and expenditures should be balanced in the light of numerous immeasurable services.

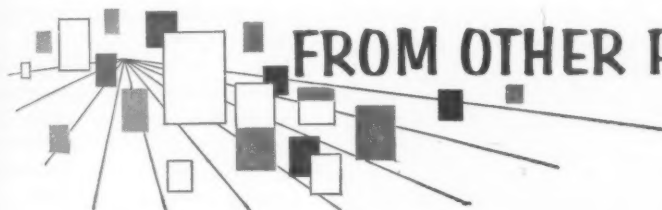
A fiscal policy for the Post Office Department should embrace proper rates in relation to operating expenses, fair treatment to mail users and such intangible factors as the role the service is to play in our lives. A wage policy for the Department should be separate and distinct, based on traditional American concepts of

living costs, productivity and the right every man has to discharge his responsibilities to his family, his employer and his community.

There must not be a double standard of morality, one standard for employers in private industry and another standard for the government. And low wages, inadequate wages—anything less than a saving wage—cannot be morally justified. Unfortunately, this is precisely the position in which the federal government now finds itself.

Postal employees will continue to look to their colleagues in the American labor movement for moral support in the fight to bring government wages into line with reality. When the time comes and the shouting begins about "postal deficits" and "raiding the treasury"—cries that were heard in 1955—it might be a good idea for all of us to recall that our postal system costs us 12 per cent of the amount appropriated by Congress.

As the well-known commercial slogan might be paraphrased, no other federal agency can make that claim.



FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS

The Defenseless Budget

From AFL-CIO News

The Administration's involved gyrations on the budget have produced one of the more ludicrous spectacles in recent years in Washington. After presenting the Congress with the largest budget in the nation's peacetime history, the Administration is timidly inviting Congress to trim it back.

The Democrats in the House of Representatives did not exactly cover themselves with either statesmanship or glory when they pushed through a resolution asking the President for specific recommendations for slashes. But their position is more understandable in terms of the Administration's flat refusal to stand up for the budget it so ardently put together.

It's time the Administration began defending its budget in terms of program rather than the dollar figures involved.

Medical Programs

From United Rubber Worker

Because of the failure of the United States to produce a really satisfactory coun-

try-wide health insurance program, organized labor is doggedly going ahead on its own, providing more and more health plans for its members and their families. This is being done as a result of labor dissatisfaction with some of the medical insurance programs now in existence and the resistance of conservative groups in the medical profession to the growth of group practice in health clinics.

Some 100,000,000 Americans now have some form of medical insurance, representing a terrific growth of this type of insurance in the past twenty years. But in the opinion of labor experts in the field, most of this insurance is inadequate.

It stresses payments to help bear the cost of illness after the illness has happened—hospital expenses, surgical fees, some of it even doctor's fees for hospital care. But where it is weak is in preventive medicine, in detection of disease and illness before they strike, in care that can head off sickness, in a pre-payment, comprehensive approach to the whole problem of health.

The struggle for adequate medical service for union members is reflected in a growing number of union contracts. The fight for better medical treatment for workers, far from being over, actually has only begun.

Civil Rights

From The Black Worker

While the struggle for civil rights for Negroes is in the forefront of public interest, the civil rights of labor are also being flagrantly denied in various areas of the South. In fact, the plight of trade unions, white and black, in the South—especially when a campaign by labor is under way to organize workers for more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions—is not much better than the plight of persons of color.

Because of the fact that labor and the Negro in the South must rise together as free men or hang together as victims of Southern racial reaction, intolerance, bigotry and prejudice, the trade union movement and Negro organizations, out of enlightened self-interest, must unite and fight to win civil rights.

Take Your Choice

From The CWA News

If you listen to U.S. economists, you can wind up on either side of the argument about what is going to happen to the economic situation.

Business confidence is a fragile commodity, liable to evaporate at appearance of the first unfavorable cloud on the economic horizon.



JAMES A. BROWNLOW

PARLEY IN DENVER

Non-Ferrous Metals Council will discuss wages, working conditions and other key matters at annual meeting

By JAMES A. BROWNLOW
President, Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO

DENVER will be the scene of the fifth annual meeting of the Non-Ferrous Metals Council of the Metal Trades Department on April 11. This meeting will bring together the leadership of the metal trades councils and local unions from the isolated locations throughout the Intermountain area, in which are located the nation's major non-ferrous metals operations.

Participating, together with the leadership of the local councils and local unions, will be numerous officials of various international unions, State Federations of Labor, State Industrial Union Councils and of several branches of government, together with an outstanding representative of a branch of the non-ferrous metals industry.

The convention will be opened with greetings from President George Caverder of the AFL-CIO Colorado Labor Council and a representative of Colorado's Governor Steve McNichols.

It is anticipated that there will be over 100 delegates in attendance, in addition to visitors and guests. Reports will be received from the officers of the Non-Ferrous Metals Council on its activities during the past year. The delegates will hear many addresses.

Among the speakers will be Mitchell Melich, president, Uranium Re-

duction Company; John Connors, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Education; Nelson H. Cruikshank, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Social Security, and representatives of the Department of Organization of the AFL-CIO. James L. McDevitt, chairman of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, will also address the meeting.

The convention will also hear from representatives of several bureaus of the United States Department of Labor, including John Gross, regional director of the Bureau of Employment Security, and Edward Goshen, executive director, Apprenticeship Service, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

One of the major purposes of the Non-Ferrous Metals Council conference lies in the development of a cohesive bargaining program and the exploration by the delegates of the methods of achieving it through continued close cooperation between the various local metal trades councils and affiliated local unions with membership employed in the various companies in the non-ferrous metals industry.

The program of the convention will allow substantial time for the work of important committees and for consideration by the participants of working conditions, welfare plans, wages and other items affecting the metal miner.

S. Wesley Johnson, assistant regional director of organization of the AFL-CIO and past president of the Non-Ferrous Metals Council, will chair the important forum session on these subjects.

The Non-Ferrous Metals Council is concerned with coordinating and furthering the activities of the hardrock miners and the metal tradesmen employed in the non-ferrous industries—in the mines, mills and smelters in the Rocky Mountain region.

This Council, which originally came into being as a district metal trades council in 1941 when mining installations became active to meet wartime metals needs, was reestablished on an active basis in 1951 and has been serving as a valuable instrument in bringing the various metal trades groups in the non-ferrous industry into closer association.

It is performing worthwhile functions through its publications and its annual conferences for the consideration of vital matters dealing with working conditions and the development of bargaining programs which can benefit the workers in this industry.

Workers in copper, lead, zinc and the other metals learned many years ago of their need for strong trade union organization in order to oppose effectively those giant corporations in the non-ferrous industry which vigor-

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ously fought against trade union organization and opposed the principles of collective bargaining.

As we have previously indicated, there is probably no industry in which the activities of trade unions have been subject to more oppression and conflict than in non-ferrous metals. There have been several organizations representing workers in the industry from the earliest days of the Knights of Labor, the IWW and the Western Federation of Miners.

The annual conventions of the Non-Ferrous Metals Council, in addition to serving as a means of developing

a unified bargaining program reflecting the desires of the workers on all matters affecting their welfare and well-being, also serve as an instrument through which the hardrock miner and the related workers in this industry continue to pursue their efforts to obtain a charter in the metal mining industry from the AFL-CIO.

The need for a central organization in this relatively small but important field has been recognized for some time by the AFL-CIO Metal Trades Department, and its conventions have adopted resolutions supporting the issuance of a charter in the metal min-

ing industry, while still recognizing and protecting the interests of the established craft unions.

The latest resolution on this subject introduced by the Metal Trades Department delegate is still pending before the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

Until Executive Council action is taken by the AFL-CIO on the organization of non-ferrous metal miners, the Metal Trades Department will continue its efforts, as in the past, to be of all possible service to them through its Non-Ferrous Metal Trades Council and its local councils.

Voter Registration

(Continued from Page 13)

partment in COPE and why we ask all state and local COPE branches to set up counterpart organizations. Needless to say, the national, state and local women's activities departments are operated by women.

COPE is giving some very sober thought to the question of the minorities' vote. It has been the unions that have always fought for the civil rights of all Americans. Labor has been out in front on this issue from the beginning.

But we are going to have to concentrate on the political problem of the minority groups in a way we have never done before. The reason is out in front of us for everyone to see. In the recent Presidential race, the Negro vote shifted heavily—and carried far too many other votes with it. The big-city balloting went much too great a distance toward the candidates opposed by labor—and the reason for it in many cases was the switch-over in the Negro community.

Not everywhere, however. In cities like Philadelphia and Detroit, where labor's political education program has been far advanced, the basic issues were explained and the liberal forces held together. But the experience shows us what we have to do.

We have to get the facts to the members of minority groups to make sure they understand where their real long-term interests lie. So we are asking all our state and local COPE branches to pay particular attention to the needs of our minority members and their families.

Registration techniques have been well worked out over the years. It

is a question of applying the knowledge and skills we already have. These are summarized in the manual "How to Win," and particularly in Chapter 6, which we are reprinting and will have available at COPE headquarters, along with a great deal of other material that will be helpful in the big registration drive.

This year the Committee on Political Education wants to make a huge dent in the lists of unregistered trade unionists and unregistered members of labor families. No task is more essential than this. Elections that are lost result in suffering for workers.

We know we are going to have the solid support of all our international unions, and we are giving all possible assistance to the state and local central organizations which will have to do the real job on the ground.



Labor Backs Douglas Bill

WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, recently urged Congress to shelve President Eisenhower's legislative proposals in regard to depressed areas and pass the more comprehensive bill introduced by Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois. Mr. Schnitzler testified before a subcommittee of the Senate Banking Committee. At his right in the photo above is George D. Riley of the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation.

Another witness was Pat Greathouse, vice-president of the United Auto Workers. He praised the provisions of the Douglas bill and called for its enactment this year. The UAW leader told the subcommittee that the problem of depressed areas is "too big and too persistent to be ignored any longer."

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Local 2-560, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Kevin, Mont., easily won the race to be the first local of the international union to make a 100 per cent contribution to COPE this year. The local speeded its check to OCAW Secretary-Treasurer T. M. McCormick without waiting for the COPE books for 1957 to arrive.

►The Communications Workers have won increases ranging from \$3 to \$11 a week in new contracts covering the Chicago toll operation of the Bell System and with the Ohio Division of the Commonwealth Telephone Company at Athens and the American Cable and Radio Company.

►Three hundred workers attended an educational conference of the Colorado AFL-CIO Labor Council in Denver. Speakers included Assistant Director John Cosgrove of the AFL-CIO Department of Education and Vice-President Pat Greathouse of the United Auto Workers.

►The Cincinnati local of the American Newspaper Guild has won general increases ranging from \$6.50 to \$9 a week and severance pay improvements in a contract covering advertising, business office, circulation, dispatch and miscellaneous employees of the Cincinnati *Times-Star*.

►Bronislaw Gawkowski, a disabled member of Local 281, Sheet Metal Workers, Detroit, is in the popcorn vending business, thanks largely to the help of fellow members. They raised \$600 toward the purchase of a trailer he needed.

►Local 14, National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians, has gained pay boosts ranging from \$20 to \$34 a week in a first contract recently negotiated with Station WNHC at New Haven, Conn.

►Lodge 2201 of the Machinists has been chartered at San Juan, Puerto Rico. Employees of Eastern Airlines and Pan American World Airways are members of the new unit.

►In a first contract negotiated with Corso Dress Company, St. Johnsville, N. Y., the Ladies' Garment Workers have reduced the hours of work from 40 to 35 per week without loss in pay and won a company contribution of 6½ per cent of the payroll to health and welfare and retirement funds.

►Anton Vodicka and William Lowry, stewards of Local 270, Utility Workers Union, rescued Charles Chamberlin and his son John from a fire in their Cleveland home. Brothers Vodicka and Lowry work for the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company.

►Ground has been broken for the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry, which the Portland, Ore., Building Trades Council is sponsoring at the new Hoyt Park Zoo, Portland.

►The Michigan Federation of Labor will award two \$500 scholarships to high school seniors making the highest scores in an examination on the American labor movement.

►Local 236 of the Furniture Workers, Louisville, Ky., has won a wage increase of 15 cents hourly at the Huttig Sash and Door Company.

►The Grain Millers have won a representation election held at Mount Blanca Shippers, Mount Blanca, Colo.

►In the face of an intensive anti-union campaign in the community, the Machinists were victorious in a National Labor Relations Board election at the Delman Company plant in Cookeville, Tenn. The vote was 138 to 84. The company had run to Cookeville after closing down in Des Moines, Iowa.

►The AFL-CIO Government Employees Council has endorsed legislation to extend survivorship benefits to the families of federal workers who die after less than five years of government service. Bills to expedite the closing of federal facilities and their transfer to private industry were condemned.

►A Virginia plan to levy inheritance taxes on the annuities received by survivors of federal government employees was halted when the American Federation of Government Employees threatened court action.

►President Jacob S. Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has made known that the union has negotiated contracts in recent months at more than thirty companies where bargaining rights are newly acquired.

►Local 133 of the Retail Clerks has obtained pay increases of \$8 and \$9 a week for regular employees of Ohio A. & P. stores located at East Liverpool, Wellsville and Chester.

Can't We Afford It?

(Continued from Page 11)

increase in workloads for all employees, to say nothing of deterioration in postal service.

Only \$3.5 billion is in the federal budget for a whole range of very important labor and welfare activities. This comes to only *five per cent* of the entire budget. It represents, moreover, *less than one per cent* of the entire national income of the American people. It comes to only \$20.40 for each of the 173,000,000 Americans who will be living in the year starting next July 1.

Can America afford one per cent

of its income for the kinds of services provided in our labor and welfare budget? A brief review of some of these services raises the more appropriate question, "Can America afford *not* to spend at least this much money?"

Almost half of the entire labor-welfare budget, \$1,700,000,000, is distributed by the Social Security Administration in the form of grants to states for *public assistance*.

There are about 2,500,000 older persons who need public assistance because they have no other source of

income. These are the folks who never had an opportunity to be covered by the social security system and now need help.

Even when the federal money is added to the state funds, the average recipient of old-age assistance receives only about \$59 a month. The public assistance program also provides an average payment of about \$33 a month for dependent children, about \$63 for aid to the blind and about \$59 for aid to permanently and totally disabled persons. Can we do less than this in a country as rich as America?

About \$550 million has been allowed in the budget for the Public Health Service. This comes to about \$3 a year for every man, woman and child in the United States. It is the best value in the world. With this very small per capita expenditure, the federal government has helped build thousands of hospitals, has conducted medical research, has provided grants to states to fight tuberculosis and venereal disease and communicable diseases, has promoted sanitary engineering activities, has worked on health problems of our American Indians—to name just a few activities of the Public Health Service.

If there is any complaint at all, it is that we have spent too little on health activities. Take hospital construction, for example. The Hill-Burton Act was passed ten years ago. Since its passage, more than 3,000 projects costing a total of \$2.5 billion have been supported with federal funds. The federal share came to \$800,000,000. But even this has not met our needs. The experts have stated that we are still short 800,000 hospital beds.

Year after year, labor has urged Congress to appropriate the full amount authorized by the law. But it has refused to do so. Last year, for example, Congress allowed only \$125,000,000, even though the law permits as much as \$210,000,000. The proposed budget for next year calls for only \$121,000,000. The AFL-CIO has requested the full authorization.

Take medical research, as another example. In recent years spectacular progress has been made toward the conquest of some of our major sicknesses. Federal money helped support the work which led to the

discovery of the Salk vaccine. We know more about heart disease now, more about mental health, more about cancer.

But it has taken bold, imaginative leadership in Congress to push ahead in this field despite the penny-pinching proposals which came from the White House. Last year, it is recalled, the President proposed a total of only \$126,000,000 for medical research, including the National Institutes of Health. Congress raised it to \$184,000,000—an increase of 50 per cent.

The American people are indeed fortunate to have men like Representative John Fogarty of Rhode Island and Senator Lister Hill of Alabama heading the respective committees charged with responsibilities in this area. They have worked long and hard to keep medical research at the highest possible level, and we are now seeing the brilliant results of their work.

Let the budget-cutters read these words of Congressman Fogarty and then tell us how much they want to cut:

"We have made great strides in the fight on cancer through new surgical techniques and new detection methods that have been developed, with the result that there are at least 15,000 people walking around alive today who would be dead except for the progress that has been made in the past ten years. * * *

"When there is such an obvious possibility of alleviating human suffering and prolonging human life, I am in favor of resolving our doubts on the side of optimism regarding our research potential, instead of on the side of economy. * * * I do not know how anyone can, in good conscience, vote for a lesser amount just for the sake of saving tax dollars. I do not think these are the kind of dollars that the taxpayers want saved."

How else are some of our tax dollars spent in the labor and welfare area? Space does not permit a listing of all the other vital services which are today being provided to at least some degree, but here are just a few illustrations:

►Apprenticeship and training programs and grants for vocational education to provide skilled manpower for our advancing technology.

►Research work and safety pro-

grams to meet the challenge presented by atomic radiation hazards.

►Study of problems affecting the aged and chronically diseased.

►Support for education through research activities and through grants for school construction.

►Vocational rehabilitation programs — both for actual rehabilitations and for further research in new techniques.

►School lunch program for about 12,000,000 children.

►Maternal and child health services and aid to crippled children.

Labor has a strong interest, of course, in seeing to it that our labor laws are properly enforced. A minimum wage law is meaningless if we don't provide the funds for proper enforcement. Bacon-Davis provisions for prevailing wages on public construction must be properly administered. The Mexican farm labor program needs good policing to prevent hardships to both Mexican and American workers.

ALL OF these things cost money. But it should be remembered that all of these labor and welfare activities of our federal government—and many, many more which have not even been touched upon in this article—cost only 5 per cent of the total national budget and only one per cent of our national income. This is a small enough price to pay for a healthy, happy and productive people.

Some day — soon, we hope — the danger of war and aggression will recede. Perhaps then we shall be able to cut our defense budget from 40 billion dollars down to 30 billion or even 20 billion. Just think how much more we could do to provide for the domestic needs of our people if 5 or 10 billion dollars a year were diverted from our defense budget to things like housing and education and health. And this would still make possible substantial tax cuts.

In the meantime, can America afford a \$72 billion budget? Of course it can. Can it afford *not* to provide adequately for national defense or for the vital services described above? The answer is obvious.

American workers do not want their taxes wasted. But they are prepared to do their share to "provide for the common defense" and to "promote the general welfare."

Philadelphia Shows the Way

By GENE ZACK

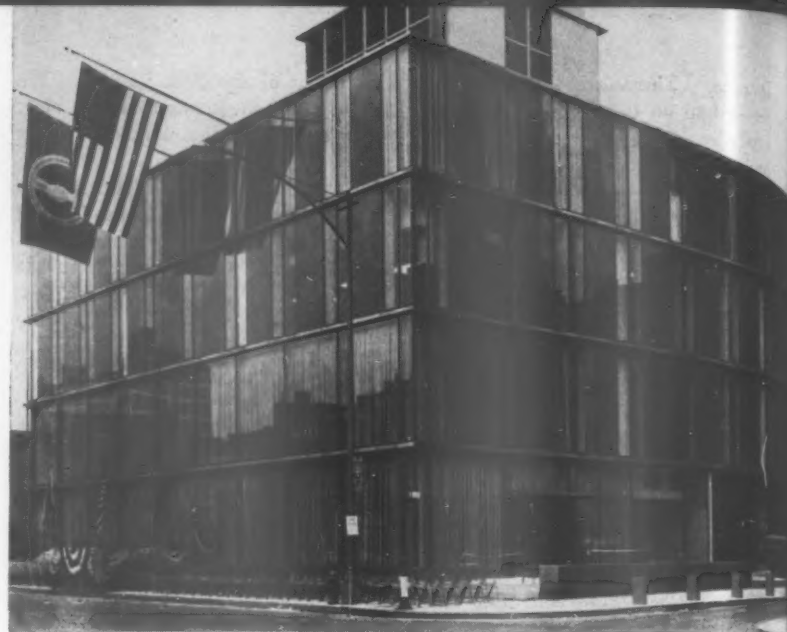
PHILADELPHIA'S description as "The City of Brotherly Love" was never more justified than it was a few weeks ago when labor proudly opened the doors of its \$1,500,000 Medical Service Plan health center.

Product of the unceasing efforts of a small group of Central Labor Union officials, the four-story marble, glass and stainless steel structure is a monument to a project that is unique among present labor health plans—for it is sponsored by a total of twenty-eight local unions, belonging to almost as many different internationals.

In the words of AFL-CIO President George Meany, this new health center is "a stirring demonstration of what can be done when men of vision devote themselves to the task of meeting human needs."

Dr. A. J. Ziserman, Philadelphia AFL Medical Service Plan director, put it this way:

"This is far more than just stone



Twenty-eight local unions provided the funds for the construction and operation of this \$1,500,000 medical center in Philadelphia.

and steel. This building is the realization of a dream in which men put aside their individual interests to work for the common good."

Six years ago, when the Medical Service Plan was first born in Philadelphia, its sponsorship consisted of only three unions and the total population which it served was limited to those unions' 3,000 members. There were nine persons on the medical staff, and three more to handle techni-

cal and clerical assignments. It occupied quarters provided in St. Luke's Hospital.

But the idea burgeoned out from there, and today, with twenty-eight member unions actively participating in the plan, medical service is rendered not only to the 32,000 trade unionists but to 20,000 dependents as well. The medical staff has grown to forty-six doctors, the technical-clerical staff to over thirty.

We Are Stronger Than Ever Before

(Continued from Page 19)

activities. It is certainly one of the most important—a good example of bread-and-butter internationalism.

To its lasting credit, the International Transport Workers Federation during its lifetime has been paid the compliment of hatred and abuse by a wide variety of dictatorships. I am gratified to think that we have been disliked intensely by Mussolini, Horthy, Hitler, Franco, Peron, Stalin, Khrushchev and Kadar, in addition to several others of less widespread notoriety.

When Horthy brought his white terror to Hungary, the ITF organized a trade union boycott of his regime. When Kadar returned with a new red terror, some thirty years later, the ITF again suggested—regrettably in vain—a world boycott. When aid under the Marshall Plan became the target for Communist sabotage, the

ITF threw its weight behind its defense. Within our ranks we have the exiled unions of Polish and Estonian seafarers and the underground unions of Spanish railwaymen and transport workers.

I have always believed that we in the free trade union movement have a solemn duty to fight totalitarianism. We are well equipped to do so. The ITF's attitude to dictatorial government always has been one of unwavering, uncompromising hostility. As long as I have some say in its affairs, it will continue to be so.

Our judgments are uncomplicated by diplomatic considerations. We do not have to tread carefully for fear of stepping on an important corn. If there is a threat to democratic government, we shall broadcast it and fight it.

Fascism, communism or any other

ism which stands for oppression is incompatible with free trade unionism. No union which indulges in or flirts with oppression will find a place in the ITF.

The fight against communism and indeed all brands of totalitarianism cannot be waged destructively. If we fail to provide a democratic answer to the economic and social evils which are rife today in countless parts of the world, we shall lose that fight by default, for the underprivileged will turn in despair to the spurious attractions dangled before them incessantly by the Kremlin.

Our aim, surely, must be the encouragement of democratic labor organizations in the so-called underdeveloped parts of the world with all the means at our disposal.

I am confident that the ITF can stand comparison with any international trade union organization in its record of assistance, financial and moral, to young or weak unions. In

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many cases a grant from the ITF has meant the difference between life and death to a union.

This financial assistance is given as far as our resources for this purpose enable us. At the last meeting of our executive committee it was decided, when discussing regional activities, to place the financing of this work on a permanent basis. Hitherto it had been financed by a fund to which our affiliates contributed voluntarily.

We are also ready to accept affiliation at reduced cost for those organizations unable to pay in full.

THIS IS NOT charity but a sound investment. I always impress on young unions the need to put their organizations on a sound financial footing, but I realize that to do so they often need a helping hand to get them under way.

When a union writes to say that it can now pay its full affiliation fee, no one is more delighted than I—not because the International Transport Workers Federation is to receive more money but because the union can now stand on its own feet. Whenever that happens in Asia, Africa or South America, freedom has sunk another root.

Aid to young or weak unions takes forms other than a check. On many occasions the ITF calls on its stronger members during a dispute. As I write, Belgian port workers are boycotting a Uruguayan vessel in Antwerp at the request of the ITF, the vessel being owned by a Uruguayan state-sponsored company involved in a dispute with four Uruguayan maritime unions.

It is worth adding that in this case, as in many others, the unions' struggle is being hampered by Communist elements bent on sabotaging the unions concerned because they have broken from a Communist-controlled federation.

Practical assistance has become part of our routine. The Mauritius dock workers' union began a strike last year when the port employers sought to recognize a "yellow" union. The ITF was satisfied that the employers were attempting to break a genuine union. We responded immediately by granting financial aid and requested all our affiliated dockers' unions to act against any ship which escaped the Mauritius union's picket

lines. The strike was successful, and the union was quick to recognize the value of the ITF's part in the struggle.

An even more bitter strike took place at the end of 1955 in the Dutch colony of Curacao when the local phosphate mine owners refused to recognize a miners' union representing three-quarters of the employees. The strike lasted four months and was marked by police intimidation and government repression.

The local port workers' union was weak. Although it was sympathetic to the miners' cause, it was difficult to see how it could prevent the loading of what little phosphate was still being mined by strikebreakers. The ITF's aid was sought and was given. An embargo on the handling of scab-produced phosphate was requested by the ITF, and a dangerous weakness in the strikers' power was eliminated.

The strike ended with a settlement more successful than any known in the area's history. Here again the help of the Transport Workers Federation was generously acknowledged by the union.

These examples are recent, but activities of this kind are of long standing. In 1926 the Federation organized a ban on the shipment to Britain of coal from the Continent during the miners' strike, one of the most

savagely waged in labor's history. Practical expressions of international solidarity have been a feature of the International Transport Workers Federation virtually from its birth.

Nor do financial aid and solidarity in strikes exhaust the type of help we can give, for often help takes the form of advice—advice on administration, tactics or even the drafting of a constitution.

When necessary in the past we have given our advice on the spot, by enlisting, for instance, the help of experienced trade unionists to guide weak unions through difficult and complex negotiations with management.

TO FURTHER the growth of democratic unionism and maintain closer liaison with affiliates in regions remote from our London headquarters, we have established regional offices, in Mexico for the Latin American region and in Tokyo for the Asian region. Both of these offices are administered by experienced trade unionists.

The setting up of an African office was resolved at the Vienna congress last year and the executive committee was instructed to give effect to the proposal as soon as possible. This was one of the main motives for my recent visit to Africa.

Of all our activities, these two—the encouragement of democratic unions where they do not exist or exist precariously and the establishment of an efficient regional organization—are perhaps the most pressing of our tasks. The real victory over communism lies in action such as this.

I hope that I have been able to give a broad picture of the nature and the many-sided activities of our Federation, and I am very grateful for having had the opportunity to do so. The United States transport workers' unions have been of invaluable assistance to us, and without their generous support we could not have done all that we have in recent years.

In conclusion, and in all humility, I would claim that the International Transport Workers Federation has more than justified the hopes of its founders. It has lived up to its ideals and stood firm on its cherished principles of freedom and the advancement of the workers grouped under its banner. In terms of achievement, if not in the publicity given it, we believe we have made our mark.



London's Maritime House, owned by British National Union of Seamen, houses the headquarters of the ITF.

WHAT THEY SAY

A. J. Hayes, president, International Association of Machinists—Through-



out the world, millions of people who have known nothing but misery and exploitation for centuries are stirring to demand their rights—as nationalities, as free men, as

equal partners in the liberty and the abundance which are now possible. In the economically developed areas of the world, science and imagination are opening new avenues of production and developing utilization of sources of power and raw materials which can bring abundance to all.

Yet today, as half a century ago, there are men—few men, to be sure, but powerful—who would deny to the people the right to share in what is to come. Deny it in free countries by throttling the processes of freedom. Deny it in other lands by tightening the terror and power of dictatorship.

Let us determine, as the workers of long ago determined, that the world of tomorrow shall not be built by the scabs of society and shall not be run by and for the benefit of the privileged few, who would become richer by grinding the faces of the poor, who would become powerful by denying freedom and opportunity to others.

James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor—This nation must make a substantially greater effort to improve the skills and abilities of the labor force so that it will be capable of meeting the skill requirements of future days.



Technological developments alone will necessitate significant realignments in occupations and will create an ever-increasing demand for workers who possess a high degree of education and skill.

Indications are that by 1965 there will be 79,000,000 in our labor force. In view of increased need for profes-

sional, technical and skilled workers by 1965, many more workers will have to be trained on the job if the new skill requirements are to be met. Schools and colleges will be faced with the task of preparing additional millions of young workers for the new jobs which lie ahead.

If we are to maintain our national defense, raise our standard of living and generally meet the needs of our expanding economy, quick action must be taken to enlarge and improve our school system, to improve the training programs of industry and labor and to eliminate all forms of discrimination.

Industry will have to revise personnel policies which today keep many workers over 45 from making full use of their abilities. Our country can no longer afford this prejudice.

I. W. Abel, secretary-treasurer, United Steelworkers of America—A



wholesome labor-management relationship can never be established if management pretends that the unions are anti-democratic or that unions, in representing the employees, are nothing more than interlopers. In our bargaining relationships we dislike an employer attitude that labor sits at the bargaining table only by sufferance and under compulsion of law, or that labor continually plots schemes to rob management of its "prerogatives."

Instead of fearing labor, management might be well advised to join with us in building the best defense against communism or any other ism—and that is to help bring about a well-educated, vigorous democracy in which every citizen has a stake and can take pride in its achievements.

Instead of attacking every needed humanitarian reform or seeking to smear it as "creeping socialism" or some other scare phrase, I think management might join us in a forward-looking program of strengthening the bases of our American democracy.

C. J. Haggerty, secretary-treasurer, California State Federation of Labor



—Despite the optimism of prophets who write and preach that, with capital's acceptance of unionism, we have entered a new and promising era of industrial relations,

we still find our existence challenged by some employer organizations which appear bent on fanning the flames of class conflict in America.

Responsible spokesmen from almost every segment of American life have greeted the AFL-CIO merger with acclaim and hope, but labor unity has excited the frenzy of a noisy minority of U.S. industrial leadership.

These people bandy the term "labor monopoly." The labor of a human being, they argue, is a mere commodity and should be so judged by the law. The argument they advance is a preposterous one, of course.

Labor has a right to ask responsible management to assert itself. We ask those employers who enjoy and favor mature industrial relations to disown labor agitation of publicists for employer associations who are pretending to speak for all member companies.

Edward F. Carlough, secretary-treasurer, Sheet Metal Workers International Association—Safety is



not by any means the least reason why the nation must improve the system of highways. Since the turn of the century, more Amer-

icans have died in highway accidents than in all our wars since 1776. And when we compare the injury figures, we find that, during the eight wars in which our nation has engaged, a little more than 1,250,000 were wounded in action, while on the highways about 40,000,000 persons have been injured.

Improved highways alone will not put an end to the death and injury lists, but better roads will tend to lower the appalling number of casualties. The nation urgently needs more adequate roads. Work on the new highways should be expedited.